39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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'Eua, which has the majority of forestry in Tonga, today supplies most of the Kingdom's timber. However, the five sawmills (1 large government one, 4 smaller, private ones) on the island are rapidly depleting 'Eua's supply of forest resources. (Photo: Angaha, 'Eua.)

Ko e fahi'anga papa eni 'i Angaha, 'Eua. Ko 'Eua foki 'oku lahi taha ai e vao ta fe'unga pea mo e fahi papa, ka kuo vave 'osi pe e papa ai. 'Oku nima e fahi'anga papa 'i 'Eua (1 'a e pule'anga, pea mo e 4 si'isi'i ange 'oku fakalele makehe).

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

Further evidence that Tongan attitudes to marriage are changing is suggested by the proportion of husbands to wives. The 1956 census asked people if they were married, never married, widowed, or divorced. *De facto* spouses living together were treated as married, "the aim of the census being to record things as they are and not as they should be";[13] the total number of recorded husbands exceeded the number of wives by 317. The same questions concerning marital status put in 1966 returned a remarkable reversal; there was, despite a steady ratio of males to females, a surplus of 307 wives over husbands.

These figures may be explained in several ways. The census figures may be in error because of the question being misunderstood or because of the informant concealing his or her *de jure* as against *de facto* marital status from the often strange census enumerator (teachers): this would require some widowed or unmarried mothers to have been included in the 1966 but not in the 1956 returns as "married" persons and/or some widowers or *de facto* husbands to have been included as "married" in the 1956 but not in the 1966 returns. A second possibility is that the number of married men overseas (in Australia, Hawai'i, United States, New Zealand, New Hebrides, United Kingdom) has greatly increased. Lastly, there is a case here for serial monogamy, that is, contraction of second marriages without legally divorcing the first spouse, especially in a country where legal divorce is uncommon[14] because of its expense[15] and the fact that it is not traditional custom.

* * *

As already mentioned it is not possible to quantify unemployment or underemployment in Tonga from the data of the 1966 census; what is apparent, however, is that Tonga is industrialising very slowly--considerably slower than is necessary to absorb projected increases in the size of the work-force. It has been estimated in the Report (p. 30) that over 11,000 young men will pass the age of fourteen during the decade beginning 1966, but only 1,444 men will pass the age of sixty-four over the same period. It is likely, therefore, that apart from deaths and migration, the size of Tonga's male work-force will increase by about 9,700 in ten years. Taking into account the land shortage discussed above, where are these young men going to find employment?

There was no industry of any importance in Tonga before 1940, but the Tonga Government took control of copra production and marketing in 1942 after Lever Brothers made the mistake of selling out on a rock-bottom market. This state enterprise has produced economic independence for Tonga through the policy of gradual industrial development by government agencies without outside financial assistance.[16] Since 1956, there have been state-owned developments in shipping, fishing and manufacturing (desiccated coconut, coir-processing, soap, concrete blocks,

13. TONGA 1958:23.
14. There were only 405 divorces recorded on census day, representing only 1.77% of the 23,317 people who declared themselves married.
15. Legal costs for divorce proceedings may range from twenty to several hundred *pa'anga*, and the cost of maintenance has also recently risen.
16. Tupouniua 1960:405-508.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

hard-board, cabinet-making, ship's gear and housing), as well as developments in private industries such as cigarette and tobacco processing, handicrafts, tailoring, boat-building, bread-making, and in government service industries, communications, electricity and water supplies and mechanical engineering. Until 1956, Tonga maintained a favourable overseas trade balance without incurring a national debt. Since 1965, moneys have been borrowed from Britain for development plans. But these developments are not sufficient to employ the increasing numbers of young men migrating to Nuku'alofa seeking work. For example, in 1956, 2.41% of the Tongan male population over fifteen years was engaged in "part-manufacturing and processing"; by 1966 this percentage had rised to 2.78% of the adult Tongan males, an increase of some 192 persons, but Tongan females employed in this category decreased over the same period by some 77 persons, that is, in the decade following 1956 the total number of Tongans employed in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries rose by only 115 to 597 persons. The "services" branch of the economy absorbed an increase of 568 Tongans, "transport and communications" 65, whereas Tongans employed in "commerce" dropped from 786 to 353, a loss of 214 workers. The number of non-agricultural labourers rose during this period from 192 to 786—a gain of 594 workers. Comparable figures for non-Tongan residents in Tonga in 1956 and 1966, show decreases in the number of persons employed in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries (a decrease of 83 persons), "services" (down 63 persons), "transport and communications" (down 24 persons) and "commerce" (down 103 persons). These figures conform with the Tonga Government policy of gradually replacing non-Tongan workers with Tongans.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Rapid increases in the Tongan component of the population are occurring: about 38% in ten years; this is producing a very youthful population in which over half of the population is under sixteen years of age. Population expansion is due not to a rising birth rate (which is fairly constant at 3.24%) but to a rapidly decreasing death rate (in 1966 the death rate reached an all time low of 0.29%).

Pressures on land are beginning to be felt but are not yet acute because it is comparatively easy for any Tongan to obtain access to land for subsistence purposes. Pressure on the *'api* system as it now stands is very great with possibly well over half of the men eligible for land without land or at least without security of tenure. Possibilities for intensification of land use have scarcely been sought; diversification of crops and scientific methods are, with the exception of the Coconut Replanting Scheme, as yet confined to research stations; large tracts of land belonging to the nobility remain officially unallotted; several high islands are unsettled; larger allotments could be subdivided with the introduction of intensive methods. Pressure on housing is not yet acute except in Nuku'alofa, but the Tongan administration seems to have adopted a European norm of one "family unit" to one household in spite of the traditional custom of

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607. Both are sailboats with auxiliary motors and a displacement of approximately 80 to 100 tons.

[501] the motor boats and sailboats (with auxiliary motors) of the churches and especially all the sailboats (cutters, sloops) owned by Tongans and today stationed on almost all inhabited islands of the Archipelago. (608)

608. In 1952, for example, six such sailboats belonged to the village of Nomuka (567 inhabitants, ten to the village of 'Uiha (647 inhabitaznts) and two (along with two motor boats) to the village of Fungamisi (263 inhabitants). The price of such a sailboat depends on its size and the circumstances of its acquisition. Today it may cost up to 800 T. (about 7320 German marks).

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[396] These sailboats built entirely after European models are built by Whites
[177] or half-castes, sometimes also by Tongans themselves with imported
[422] material. They are the property of one person or of several who
[471] formed a sort of cooperative. For a fixed fare, paid in Tongan currency, the generally altogether overloaded vessels transport human beings and cargo; people travel on them to visit relatives or go shopping, students travel on them to their colleges at the beginning and end of vacation, copra is shipped on these sailboats to the receiving stations of the Copra Board, and the supply of goods from the commercial centers of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai to the small and smallest islands is made possible only by this traffic; natives also set out to fish in the high seas (deep sea angling) in cutters and sloops.

[501] In such boats, which are approximately between 4 and 15 tons, the natives often sail a hundred and more sea miles on the open sea, and there are seldom accidents even during stormy night journeys. The Tongans(609)